

## Routes to tour in Germany

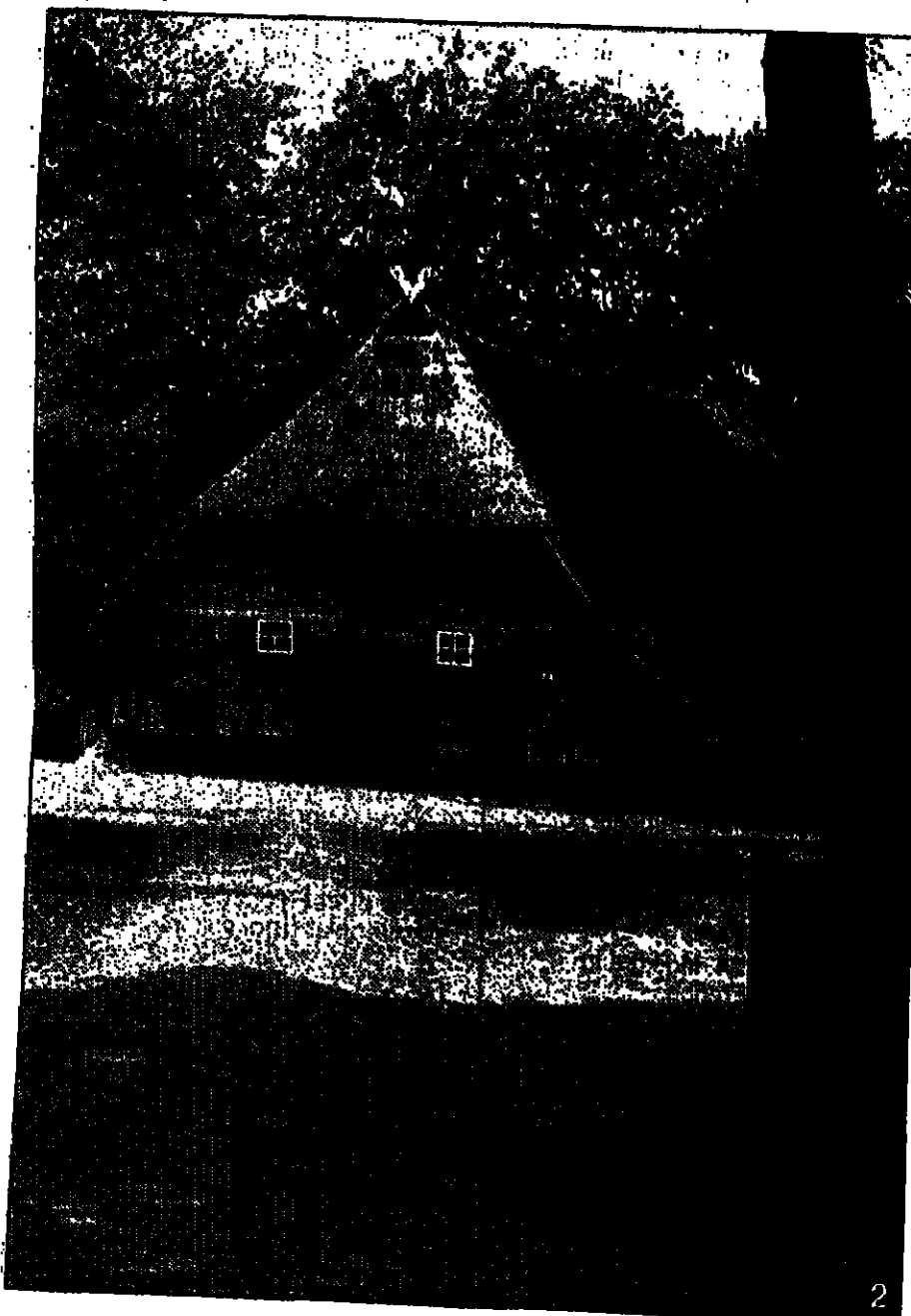
# The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there — to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both. The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

**DZT** DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS  
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt



# The German Tribune

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## Euro integration: Bonn hopes in the balance

Crucial days lie ahead, for the EEC in general and Bonn's European policymakers in particular. This became clear after the confidential talks by Common Market foreign ministers at Munich Castle, near Bonn.

An entire range of further soundings need taking to show whether the Bonn hopes the new Bonn government is of headway on European integration during its chairmanship of the EEC Council of Ministers can still be fulfilled.

Otherwise Chancellor Kohl might have to draw up a disappointing final balance-sheet when Germany hands over to Greece at the EEC at the end of June.

Bonn's policy is admittedly unclear. It still lacks direction, especially in the difficult terrain of European Community finances.

But Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher can hardly be held responsible for the recent events and their control that have worsened matters.

The first is Mrs Thatcher's decision to go the polls on 9 June. This threatens to jeopardise the Stuttgart EEC summit, expected by Bonn to be the climax of Germany's term in the chair.

If Mrs Thatcher feels unable to attend in person, the summit's value will be reduced.

Reflections, of course, are almost always being held somewhere or other in the EEC, but nowhere is a general election and its outcome of such overriding significance for Europe's prospects as Britain.

Economic and agricultural policies become the focal point of debate and the yardstick by which the success of the summit will be judged.

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munity Finance Ministers seem sure to approve is a gesture of European solidarity.

It also shows yet again how far apart the economies of major Common Market countries are drifting in the wake of France's economic experiments.

As for agricultural finances, it was unclear at the time of writing whether French farmers would make good their threat of closing the borders for farm imports.

If they did, it would coincide with the talks between EEC Agriculture Ministers in Brussels on the new prices and between Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand in Paris for consultations.

A reform of Common Market finances is growing increasingly urgent. The EEC budget estimates for 1984 submitted by the European Commission show how little leeway remains.

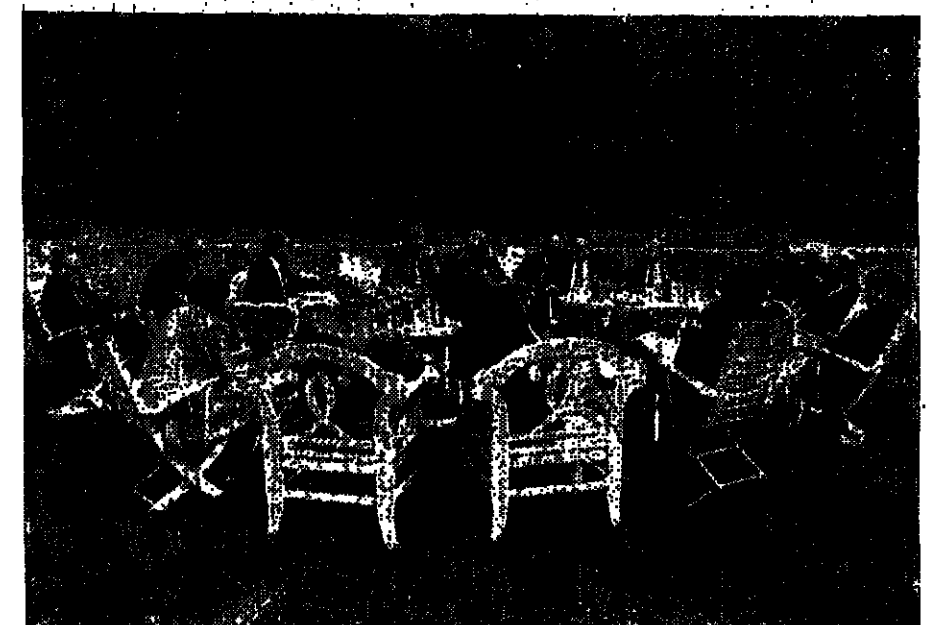
Pressure is exerted by farm price increases, by bumper agricultural surpluses and by the decline in world market prices.

And that is not even to mention the cost of the EEC's southward enlargement, which will impose a heavy burden on the Common Market's finances in the medium term.

So the European Community's financial problems come increasingly to the fore at the intensive talks held in Gynmich Castle.

They seem steadily more likely to become the focal point of debate and the yardstick by which the success of the summit will be judged.

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A breath of summer air... EEC foreign ministers get away from the conference tables at Gynmich Castle, near Bonn, where they held talks this month.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

## Andropov and missiles: was he talking hot air after all?

Mr Andropov has now caused doubts about how serious the Soviet Union is about its disarmament proposals.

The West initially thought a step in the right direction had been taken when he accepted US demands for warheads and not just missiles to be counted at the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles.

But the Soviet leader has since made an additional explanation that places a major damper on hopes of genuine Soviet readiness to reduce Russia's modern missile potential.

Warhead comparisons, he now says, naturally do not mean any reduction in the number of carrier vehicles.

The Soviet Union aims to retain at

least 162 SS-20 systems in European Russia, which is the number maintained by Britain and France.

Preparations are under way to expand the number of missile systems, at present 108, aimed at China and Japan from Soviet Asia.

The 162 SS-20s Mr Andropov says Russia needs whatever happens to ensure Soviet security will thus be capable of covering a good 500 targets in Europe.

The Soviet Union is keen to retain this potential without allowing the Nato countries in Western Europe at which it is aimed to establish a missile potential of their own.

It does so even though the SS-20 cannot be compared with the outdated British and French strategic systems, which have only single warheads, are mainly on board nuclear submarines and are not under Nato command either.

Does the Soviet offer perhaps mean that Moscow might be prepared to modify its multiple-warhead SS-20s and fit the 162 systems with single warheads instead?

What will then be done to the others? Will these mobile missiles merely be re-located somewhere near railway lines (like all the rest)? Will even more be based in Asia?

The Soviet Union is reluctant to answer these queries and contents itself with confusing public opinion, long overtaxed, in the West with all manner of offers.

Is the Soviet propaganda objective to create confusion as part of a campaign to wear down public opinion, as Free Democrat Jürgen Möllemann seems to think?

Scepticism is bound to increase in the wake of the latest Soviet statements, and all Soviet disarmament and arms li-

Continued on page 2



CANADIAN GOVERNOR-GENERAL, Edward Schreyer (left) and Bonn President Karl Carstens in Bonn. It is the first time that a Canadian head of state has visited the Federal Republic while holding office. Schreyer, who is accompanied by his wife, is also visiting West Berlin and some of the Federal States. (Photo: Sven Simon)

The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 5 June.

## WORLD AFFAIRS

## Genscher-Colombo European integration plan to be tabled at EEC summit

A "European Act" has been drawn up for approval at the Stuttgart summit meeting of EEC leaders.

It has been put together on the initiative of Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Italian counterpart Emilio Colombo.

As a solemn declaration on European Union the document would say Herr Genscher, institutionalises foreign policy cooperation.

The EEC and the EPC, (European Political Cooperation) two pillars of integration in Western Europe, would be linked. Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl favours the idea.

Whether the declaration will be acclaimed by all member-countries in another matter. Minister of State Alois Mertes, whose expertise has been a great help to Herr Genscher at this tricky level of diplomacy, is only moderately optimistic.

The Germans and Italians are dealing with partners whose historical development has been individual and independent, but they cannot close their eyes to the need for agreement in the West on fundamental problems.

In particular, it remains to be seen how Britain and France, traditionally great powers, will react.

Bonn at all events does not intend to be to blame for handing over the chairmanship of the Council of Ministers at the end of June with an idea for integration that has failed.

Too much prestige, including the personal prestige of Herr Genscher, has been invested in the project for Bonn to risk being held responsible.

In the 1970s EPC, the European Political Cooperation agreement, produced various declarations on the Middle East, Namibia and Cambodia. Since

1980 unanimity has also been shown in resolutions on Afghanistan and Poland. EPC was agreed on 13 years ago to try and unify EEC views on foreign policy issues.

The EPC gatherings have also issued statements on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, on UN disarmament bids, on nuclear non-proliferation and on various Third World problems.

Security policy cooperation within the EPC framework is strictly political. Military matters are left to Nato.

Herr Genscher told the European Assembly in Strasbourg last month that his "European Act" was in the pipeline. "I shall not be appearing before this Parliament," he told Euro-MPs, "with a joint effort by the Council of Ministers that does not merit being termed a step toward European Union."

He feels a return to majority decisions in the Council of Ministers is essential if it is to be more effective and capable of action.

If he were to gain approval of majority voting he could be sure of a majority in favour of the German-Italian proposals. Mr Pym and M. Cheysson, his British and French opposite numbers, would no longer be in a position to prevent them from being approved.

Otherwise they might be able to do so on the basis of the consensus principle, in effect a right of veto, that has prevailed since 1966.

It is hard to say whether they will veto the Genscher-Colombo Plan because of disadvantages it might cause to their national policies.

The possibility can certainly not be ruled out, arguably as a sop to anti-Europeans back home.

Bonn is wondering how the European Act might still be taken over the sticks. Britain and France could possibly be agreed to hold dissenting views in the way that France was in 1966 in Luxembourg when the other five EEC countries went over to majority voting.

The second obstacle the declaration has yet to clear is the extension of powers delegated to the European Parliament as envisaged by Herr Genscher and Signor Colombo.

The European Assembly is in future to be given a hearing in its watchdog role, on major international agreements and in connection with prospective new members. If the European Act is approved it could be renewed by the European Parliament five years after it is signed.

It is very doubtful whether the transfer of such powers to the European Assembly would meet with the approval of all 10 Common Market countries (soon to become a round dozen when Spain and Portugal join the EEC).

Just before EEC Foreign Ministers met in Gynmich, near Bonn, Herr Genscher outlined in detail what he felt German policy on Europe should be at Gynmich and Stuttgart.

Within Europe, he said, the aim must be to press ahead with integration toward European Union. Externally, Europe must be guided by the Western community of values.

Comprehensible, though, this approach might sound, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a consensus amount-

ing to more than mere lip service on major hot spots in world affairs.

An example constantly cited is the Venice resolution on the Middle East approved by the European Council on 12 June 1980.

In it the nine member-states (as they then were) emphasised that traditional ties with the Middle East made them feel obliged to play a special role and take specific action for the sake of peace.

Then came a section in which the right to security of all states in the region, including Israel, was reaffirmed, followed by a call for justice for all peoples, including recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Express mention was made of the PLO, which must be allowed to take part in negotiations.

This resolution was in keeping with British, French and Italian intentions, whereas it proved Germany's disadvantage.

Israel accused Bonn of taking part in an upgrading of the PLO, while Washington made it clear that the Venice resolution ran counter to overriding Western interests.

Britain and France, who were still powerful and, up to a point, nuclear powers, could afford to view the reactions in Washington and Jerusalem with equanimity.

Yet it remains a fact that cooperation in an institutionally consolidated free Europe (limited by the results of the Second World War to Western Europe for the time being) must be related to ties with the United States.

## Seemed simple

Thirteen years ago, when the Common Market countries embarked on foreign policy cooperation that has gone by the name of EPC, it looked for a while as though Europe could take its time.

All it needed to do was to reaffirm Europe's fundamental links with America and go ahead slowly with the intricate process of integration.

Then nuclear stalemate forced the superpowers to fight wars by proxy in, say, Vietnam and the Middle East. Both were war theatres yet ran no serious risk of escalation to world power confrontation level.

Washington, London and Moscow had just agreed to nuclear non-proliferation, and not even Mr Brezhnev's orders to the Warsaw Pact to invade Czechoslovakia in August 1968 shook their complicity.

While Washington and Moscow paved the way for talks on limiting strategic arms, Britain, Ireland, Denmark and, initially, Norway agreed to EEC membership terms in Western Europe.

In Germany the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn was keen to come to terms with Moscow and Warsaw, and at times it was more intent on ties with the East Bloc than with the West.

At times there was an impression that Europe was in the throes of a rebirth of

old-style nationalism, with Gaulle virulently opposing commitment in Vietnam as early as 1960s.

In Eastern Europe the pot was boiling on Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, and when Pact forces were sent into Czechoslovakia to lend "fraternal assistance" de Gaulle said it was the division of Europe for Americans had been to blame.

In the summer of 1968 Gaulle sensed an opportunity for influencing world affairs independent of the United States.

While the Johnson administration was concentrating more on Asia than on Europe, in Europe there was a trend to break loose of Washington strings seemed to be fashionable.

One might not agree with trends in world affairs heralded by President Kennedy in the early 1960s. When Helmut Schmidt was toppled by a constructive vote of confidence, it became apparent that it is likewise hard to deny the President de Gaulle the power of decision in Western Europe.

President de Gaulle's resignation in April 1969 certainly made it clear that the time had come to play a part in European integration.

At the December 1969 summit, where EPC first took shape, Pompidou of France made a principle to enlargement of the Common Market and further integration.

The establishment of an Economic and Monetary Union by 1980 was suggested.

In spring 1973 US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, having declared the Year of Europe, proposed a Charter.

This proposal failed simply because of the clash, currently only too apparent, between America's global responsibilities and European regional interests.

But experience has shown the clash could pale in significance were a widespread feeling threatened.

It implies no lack of respect for cultural and political variety of Europe, but the job is strenuous and nerve-racking.

Stolze is proud to be able to say that he strictly observed the dividing line between his duty to inform the public on the one hand and to make propaganda on the other.

This has certainly been no easy task in the face of considerable jostling from CDU and the hectic mood during election campaign early this year.

Stolze's struggle to forward political self-interest was only one aspect of the new experience to be made. Basically, Bonn is one big unknown for Stolze.

One handicap which Stolze perhaps had to consider when he accepted the job, for example, is the understandable not to get the sack. Acting as Government Spokesman means a 14-hour working day.

Stolze, Boenisch too may find it a bit of government and Chancellor's office as a constructive proposition.

Any estrangement which may have developed between Boenisch and the Chancellor has been eliminated.

Boenisch will be well aware of the

## HOME AFFAIRS

## Official Bonn Spokesman decides to quit

Diether Stolze has resigned as Bonn Government Spokesman. He has been replaced by Peter Boenisch.

Stolze was appointed last year after there had been rumours that he would resign early. Now that he is indeed

resigned, the question is: Why wasn't Boenisch chosen at the beginning?

Stolze has been regarded as the choice ever since Helmut Kohl won the Bundestag election campaign. Opposition candidate back in

1965 he was one of the initiators of the teenager magazine *Bravo*.

In summer 1959 Boenisch joined the Springer publishing house and became editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper *Bild* in 1961.

In 1965 he also took on the editorship for the *Bild am Sonntag*.

Following a reorganisation of the Springer group he was also appointed Secretary to its new *Gesellschaft für Publizistik* (Association for Journalism).

He was recalled from his position of editor-in-chief of *Die Welt* (which he has held since 1978) in 1981.

(Bremser Nachrichten, 10 May 1983)

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Stolze, for he and Stolze have been close friends for a long time.

Boenisch was born in Berlin on 4 May, 1927. His mother is Russian.

After the war, he studied law and Slavonic studies for a while, before working as local and sports editor for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Berlin, the newspaper issued by the occupying American forces.

He then worked for *Newsweek* and the *New York Times* and by 1949 he had worked his way up to editor-in-chief of the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Tagespost*.

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Chancellor Kohl (right) explains the decision of Government Spokesman Diether Stolze (left) to resign. (Photo: dpa)

In statistical terms, ex-Government Spokesman, Diether Stolze, in office for less than eight months, must be classed a failure.

The average Government Spokesman in Bonn, remains in office for about two years and three months.

Viewed less mathematically, however, the latest personnel shift in Bonn would appear to have less to do with personal abilities and more to do with decisions of a more fundamental political nature.

Of course, there are also special reasons for Stolze's premature departure.

In all probability, he underestimated the stress associated with the dual role to be played by a Government Spokesman in Bonn.

On the one hand, he is head of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, with its staff of 700; on the other, he must function as a political firework-maker, and one careless word can turn into political dynamite.

Stolze's personal attitude towards life never really allowed him to meet the demands of such a dual role in the only way possible: by completely renouncing his private life.

In this sense, he was never really the right man for the job.

Another factor: Kohl brought along his old kitchen cabinet, led by Eduard Akermann, who was known to be matchless in the surefooted way he deals with the Press in Bonn.

As head of the Public Relations Directorate and long-standing confidant to the government leader, he was virtually closer to the Chancellor than anyone else.

This kind of thing tends to undermine the prestige of a Spokesman.

## The top Press job makes heavy demands

And yet, irrespective of those personal circumstances, there is a more important reason for the early departures of many Government Spokesmen.

They are increasingly being forced out of their official role of interpreter of government policies into one in which they function as a scapegoat for government slip-ups.

The government policies are all right, it is claimed, it's the poor way in which they are sold which leads to political setbacks.

Bonn's Spokesmen are increasingly becoming "doormats" for the politicians, taking the blame for not being able to convince the public that an ugly-looking toad is really a tasty oyster.

Many run into difficulties when they refuse to cross the line between information, backed by tax-payer's money, and propaganda.

Chancellor Kohl himself cannot be accused of treating his Spokesman this way, but quite a few of his party friends could be.

One can only hope that Peter Boenisch has not been chosen purely on account of his reputation as a good salesman of popular press material.

Hans Peter Schütz  
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 May 1983)

## EEC unity

Continued from page 1

Bonn's chairmanship at the EEC will be measured.

This is even more the case now that the Bonn coalition has failed to arrive at a clear attitude on proposals made by the European Commission in Brussels.

Herr Genscher set great store by the German-Italian bid to promote political development of the European Community, but the solemn declaration he envisaged has similarly declined in importance.

Eberhard Wisdorff  
(Hanseblatt, 16 May 1983)

## Disarmament

Continued from page 1

imitation initiatives forfeit credibility as a result.

How much more honest and constructive it would be if the experts were, as originally agreed, to come to terms at Geneva on the basis of reliable data.

Instead, hopes are being encouraged bit by bit in speeches and interviews that Moscow has no intention of fulfilling.

Peter Seiditz  
(Kleiner Nachrichten, 14 May 1983)

## The German Tribune

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## Three key civil servants are replaced

In one fell swoop, Friedrich Zimmermann (CDU), Federal Minister of the Interior, has replaced three top civil servants.

All three were competent bureaucrats and all had made their own personal mark: State Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, Günter Hartkopf; President of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Richard Meier; and Federal Commissioner for the Prevention of Data Abuse, Professor Hans Peter Bull.

Bull is the only SPD man. Hartkopf is a member of the FDP, who cannot be said to have leftist leanings. Meier sympathises with the conservative parties.

Not one of the three replacements is an SPD or FDP man.

But party membership was probably just one of the reasons for Zimmermann's new choices.

Hartkopf, Meier and Bull were all ex-

Baumann gave an indication of the reasons behind Zimmermann's choice when he stated that he intends to keep data protection out of the headlines.

His predecessor, Bull, felt it only right publicly to point out any shortcomings in the prevention of data abuse.

Zimmermann also found it difficult to forgive Richard Meier for the headlines caused by a car accident in which he was involved.

The Federal Minister for the Interior will have to wait and see if the newcomers come up to his expectations.

For, after all, good civil servants must take into account the interests of the citizens at large and not just those of a particular minister, particularly in the data abuse post.

He can only then satisfy the demands of his office if he gains the confidence of the public.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 May 1983)



## ■ THE HITLER DIARIES

## Reporter sacked, editors resign over forgeries

The Hitler diaries are false. The German Federal Archives in Koblenz examined examples and announced within 48 hours that they are forgeries. The magazine *Stern*, which produced the documents, parts of which they have already published, have sacked a leading figure involved in the issue, reporter Gerd Heidemann, and two of the three editors-in-chief, Peter Koch and Felix Schmidt, have resigned. *Stern* has asked the state prosecutor to investigate Heidemann, who has repeatedly refused to disclose the source of the documents. *Stern* now says it doubts whether the source even exists. It also says Heidemann might have "enriched" himself through the deal, which cost the magazine somewhere between DM8m and DM10m, depending on whose estimate is taken.

The diaries of Adolf Hitler are a hoax. But now the witchhunt goes on to find out who, why and where.

In a brief statement issued by the publishers of *Stern*, Gruner & Jahr, in Hamburg, the resignation of two editors-in-chief, Peter Koch and Felix Schmidt, was announced.

The statement is signed by the chairman of Gruner & Jahr's board of managing directors, Gerd Schulte-Hillen, who it is claimed himself had a hand in the whole affair.

The Hamburg publishing house is now busy carrying out repair work on the next issue of *Stern*, calming down its angry journalists and paving the way for further "consequences".

Peter Koch had to be called back to Germany from the United States, where he was still conducting background research on the diaries together with the son of Hitler's former deputy, Rudolf Hess.

The reporter behind the affair, Gerd Heidemann, was somewhere in Bavaria.

The planned next instalment of the diaries will be replaced by the story behind their forgery. It's a case of trying to make money out of a flop.

As Henri Nannen, the publisher, points out: "We shall be trying to uncover the story behind these forgeries, and I really mean uncover."

## The bureau that exposed a fraud

The Federal Archives in Koblenz, which has declared the alleged *Stern* Hitler diaries to be forgeries, was established in 1953.

Its job is to collect, order and scientifically evaluate records passed on from the Federal government and its departments.

The Archives was a central collecting-point for material seized by the three western Allies from the offices and departments of the Nazis during the war and handed back since.

During its first years, the Archives' main functions were to:

- Put into archives all existing material from the former Reich material found on Federal territory.

But *Stern* reporters are now wondering who is going to believe them now.

"The only thing we're going to uncover is what date it is tomorrow", they said. Up until the afternoon of 6 May the journalists seemed to be mere on-lookers.

Yet gradually it became apparent that too much work had been carried out without sufficient precautions.

Gerd Heidemann, who had offered his material to the editors-in-chief, had not apparently named the names of his sources right up until the actual publication deadline.

Herr Schulte-Hillen only discovered a name after exerting "psychological pressure" on Heidemann.

By this time, however, the millions of marks for the story had already been handed over. By evening, publisher Nannen had to admit defeat: "I feel that we have every reason to feel ashamed in front of our readers."

Nannen, who up to this time had been most restrained, still assured the public that the journalists responsible had checked the authenticity of the fake diaries as best they could.

He then drifted into the jargon of day-to-day routine as he spoke about the marketing aspects of such alleged diaries.

He pointed out that, after all, Ade-

It now seems incredible that *Stern* was threatening to print this freshly-written Hitler volume for volume for fifteen months.

Presumably, the historians were then expected to pick up the morsels and ruminate on them.

Now's the time for questions to be asked: is it really so easy for the media to create such an event and manipulate the reading public?

Isn't the way in which German TV stations are automatically taken in by a story which is not verifiable and present discussions on the subject an open invitation to potential forgers?

The fact that for dramaturgical reasons the British right-wing historian, David Irving, was asked to take part in such a discussion must certainly have brought a smile to the faces of Germany's right-wing extremists.

- Gather material on the activities of former German Reich authorities and of the Wehrmacht.
- Look after and register the material confiscated by the Allies during the war and handed back since.

According to the rules of procedure of the Federal ministers, those records which are older than 30 years can be used for research purposes, providing the Federal government has not ordered otherwise.

This Federal body has now become the central archives institution of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The information stored in the stock-rooms are accessible both to scientists and the public.

There are more than 70 kilometres of files, 52 million metres of documentary and feature films and about 1.2 million photos.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 9 May 1983)



nauer and Kissinger had written their memoirs, sold them for a great deal of money and allowed them to be marketed. Saturday, 7 May, then saw some heavy backtracking by both the publishing house and the editors.

"The authenticity tests conducted before the start of publication have revealed themselves to be inadequate."

None of the official statements have yet in any way explained how a magazine like *Stern* could be fooled in such a way.

Heidemann is a good reporter but he is also a controversial figure — his links to former Nazi leading lights were known not to be purely journalistic. It would seem that the *Stern* manage-

## What the hoax means for German media

An "event", both artificial and fake, became a huge issue for the media.

The grotesque thing is that most of the interest was shown in this affair after *Stern* had been forced by public opinion to carry out a belated examination into the authenticity of the alleged diaries.

What *Stern* did cannot, of course, be generalised. The editorial staff would appear to have been left in the dark most of the time, the real decisions being made higher up the scale.

The staff have asked their readers to forgive them in the hope that they will not be dragged into the incredulity. Serious thought must be given to the reasons behind the affair.

*Stern*, a million-selling "popular" magazine, is a mass medium which is not easily compared with other media.

Its behaviour and its content is more dependent on successful marketing than on a positive image.

Another aspect which makes *Stern* different is its huge staff and financial resources.

It is a marvellous money-maker for the Bertelsmann group of companies, to which the *Stern* publishing house, Gruner & Jahr AG belongs.

In such an atmosphere, there is the ideal conditions for an attitude that you can buy anything that's going and find anything you want.

Very often, however, it means that you only think in terms of what you can actually see.

In the Heidemann/Hitler case, however this mood itself would not have been enough to move the millions need-

ment was subject to a variety of pressures with regard to Hitler's diaries. It had been looking for a big months. It has been plipped by other magazines on other subjects.

It was, for example, often mentioned on the wheels and the *Neue Heimat* trade union. But *Der Spiegel* was first.

*Stern* also missed the surrounding the *Flick* group of magazines. The fact that other magazines also involved in negotiations with the Hitler documents led to greater pressure to make sure it did not slip away.

Why be surprised? It is surely a "healing" instinct to try and capitalise on provisions, earning for oneself and the family the maximum profit at the effort.

It used to be a matter of the fruits of forest, of venison and fish; now it is the harvest of welfare legislation. Derivatives much personal benefit as possible, viewed as no mean aptitude.

There is no difference between now and now in the way in which the state is exploited, then it is less of the recipients than of the donors.

The law has changed, and with it the who enforce it. A different out prevails among government and court authority, pension fund and court a story.

Thinking only went as far as pension figures and licensing policies. The most dangerous aspect of the decision-makers in the pension house and the main editorial of the result of an form of welfare which can only be described as a story.

A second disturbing aspect of the whole affair is the way in which the story was "launched" without scruples, blinded by prospect of becoming an international sensation and gaining power and media, historians and indeed the self.

There is something frightening about the fact that somebody could believe that such a real of scraps of paper can change the of Nazi history.

In an exciting and clever analysis on Hitler, another time the British specialist on German affairs, J.P. Stern of Oxford, any new biographical details would have meant any great adjustment to German and European history.

A good thing is that the public of what Hitler was really like has been eternally whitewashed by tempted documentary forgery.

Claus Heinemann (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 May 1983)

## SOCIETY

## Changing attitudes towards social security claims

a truism: to say that more and more people are milking the welfare state, but is it really true?

Idea of social security scroungers widespread that like all deeply-ideas it merits closer scrutiny.

People really keener to wring a deutschmark out of the welfare than they were in years gone by?

There were countless refugees victims of wartime bombing who overgenerous. In assessing the of their loss with a view to getting in compensation.

Germany's former Eastern territories have had their fair share of estates farms with first-rate arable land pastures.

There were not anywhere near as many people in poor health were and qualify for a small pension. It was how it was then and there is reason to expect it to be much difficult now. Only pie-in-the-sky idealists expect anything else to be the greater pressure to make sure it did not slip away.

Wherever you look there seems to be a well-meaning collusion by the general public and welfare state officials to the welfare state's financial detriment.

The main consideration is no longer how to rule out unwarranted claims but how to lend a helping hand. Those who prefer, for reasons of pride or an uneasy conscience, not to make use of welfare provisions are viewed as either snobs or fools.

Arno Surminski (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 May 1983)

## A case for cut-price everything for the unemployed

Why is it that pensioners, students and the disabled pay half-price or a reduced rate for all sorts of services when the unemployed have to pay the full price?

The growing number of people out of work enjoy no concessions at the opera or the public baths, on public transport or telephone bills or TV licence fees.

Yet many pensioners are much better off than the unemployed.

The Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, Johannes Rau, has taken the logical step of extending fare concessions on public transport in the Rhine and Ruhr regions to the jobless.

A growing number of people are out of work through no fault of their own, and they are likely to stay unemployed for a longer period.

Many cinemas sell cut-price tickets to people on the dole. Some cafes even sell them cut-price cups of coffee, Soccer clubs offer cut-price tickets.

But how do you prove you're out of work? This problem is solved in various ways. At Borussia Mönchengladbach, the Bundesliga soccer club, you need only ask for a cut-price ticket at the turnstile.

While what people say is accepted for a single ticket, the club is still wondering how to cope with the problem when a soccer fan who says he is on the dole applies for a season ticket.

A special identity card for the unemployed has yet to be introduced, and

Peter Thelen (Handelsblatt, 4 May 1983)

Officials still labour under the delusion that there are several million people entitled to social security facilities who for one reason or another fail to claim.

The fact is that there is no-one left to protect the welfare state from exploitation. Everyone takes a dip and generously hands out what isn't his to share, let alone claim.

Outsiders such as lawyers, doctors and the trade unions join in the fray, supplying expertise and legal arguments for entitlement. Why not, after all?

No-one wants to see a return to the authoritarian state of old, when claimants were treated like beggars. The obliging attitude taken by civil servants nowadays is just as it should be.

They are absolutely right in not just signing rejection slips but also telling people what their rights are.

But the other side of the coin must not be forgotten. The public coffers are open to all and there is no-one left to protect them from abuse.

How are we to resolve the dilemma and retain the "civil" civil servant while stemming the tide of financial claims on the welfare state?

Welfare legislation seems the only answer. It at least must be made a little less obliging. Welfare entitlement must be specified; administrative leeway must be limited.

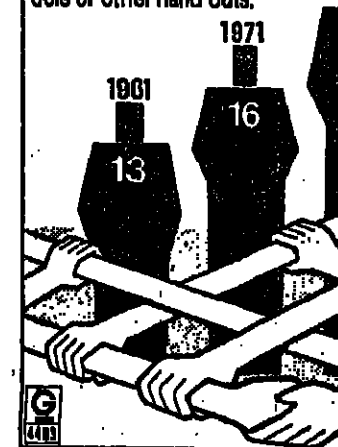
There must be no compunction in introducing means tests and income levels above which entitlement ceases.

Let civil servants by all means remain civil but they must be more strictly regulated in their opportunities of being overgenerous with money that isn't theirs to hand out without let or hindrance.

Arno Surminski (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 May 1983)

## Social security payments

Percentage of Germans living principally off pensions, dole or other hand outs.



## It's harder for girls to find apprenticeships

Girls who apply for apprenticeships are rejected twice as often as boys, says the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg, which has launched an advertising campaign to persuade employers to give more school-leavers a chance.

The advertisements feature photographs of youngsters who have failed so far in their bid to find an employer who will hire them for a two- or three-year term as an apprentice.

The Nuremberg authority notes, in connection with the campaign that more girls are sent rejection slips despite the fact that they are usually better prepared for the apprenticeship they have in mind.

This claim is made on the basis of research by Hermine Kraft and Gerhard Engelbrech, who work for a research unit attached to the Nuremberg authority.

As a rule, they find, girls take particularly good care to ensure they are well qualified for the job training they are interested in.

They also apply to more prospective employers than boys do and are readier to consider something other than what they originally envisaged.

Girls are more willing to accept any apprenticeships available at the labour exchange. On average they have better grades and higher educational qualifications than boys on the lookout for similar jobs.

Yet despite having prepared more intensively for their prospective jobs, Kraft and Engelbrech say, girls are less successful than boys in their quest for an apprenticeship.

This is true of boys and girls who leave school — *Haupt- or Realschule* — at either 15 or 16.

One girl in four who leaves school at 15 fails to find an apprenticeship. This figure is twice as high as the number of boys in this category.

Twenty-two per cent of girls who leave school at 16 are unsuccessful, as against 13 per cent of boys.

Girls are more heavily dependent on any help the labour exchange can provide in their bids to find a job at which they will be trained.

One boy in two who left school at 15 in 1977 succeeded in finding an apprenticeship with the help of parents, friends and relations.

But only one girl in three found an apprenticeship in this way.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 May 1983)



## FINANCE

## Small town, big stakes: the heavyweights meet at Williamsburg

The one-horse town of Williamsburg, about 200 kilometres from Washington and with a population of 11,000, has never been what you could call a magnet for tourists.

But the end of this month 5,000 to 6,000 journalists from all over the world will gather for the economic summit meeting of the seven most important western industrialised nations.

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What is needed is closer co-ordination and the Chancellor said he hopes that Williamsburg will provide "a signal of confidence and optimism".

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Count Otto Lambsdorff, would like to see a further impetus for the "new market-economy based offensive which is unmistakably emerging on both sides of the Atlantic".

Such hopes are not new. They have accompanied the summit meeting ever since the first one was held in 1975.

At that time, the French President, Claude d'Estaing, invited the heads of government of the USA, Britain, Japan, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany

and France to join him at the castle of Rambouillet, near Paris.

The final declaration referred to "the recovery of our economies and the reduction in the waste of human labour as a result of unemployment" as the main tasks facing the governments of these countries.

The urgency of these tasks has not lessened since that first meeting. The situation has worsened.

Today, the European Community alone has 12 million unemployed and the danger of internationally chronic economic weaknesses has still not been removed.

Critics appraisals of the summit, therefore, always return to the doubts expressed by a big West German weekly newspaper after the last economic summit in Versailles in June 1982:

"Can the pleasant-sounding words of Versailles change the world?"

Of course, they cannot. Yet the new traditional institution of annual top-level consultations has undoubtedly become an effective instrument for enabling a greater degree of joint co-ordination.

It is certainly more effective than a number of international organisations or bilateral talks between individual governments.

The fact that the government leaders must "justify" their go-it-alone activities or protectionist moves when they

meet each year may help prevent them in the first place.

In many cases, the heads of state and the government leaders did not come along to the summits empty-handed.

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In 1978 (Bonn) and 1979 (Tokyo) clear answers were given to the tough challenge of the OPEC price policy.

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This "anti-oil" policy was confirmed at the Venice summit in 1980.

"We must remove the existing link between economic growth and oil consumption", was the word put out by the top politicians at the summit.

Their aim was "to cut down the share of oil in our total level of energy requirements from the present level of 53 per cent to about 40 per cent by 1990."

The Federal Republic of Germany has made particular headway in this respect: the percentage share of oil in total primary energy consumption was already brought down to 44 per cent by 1982. This is the lowest level since the mid-sixties.

In the three years following the

Tokyo summit the Federal had already reduced its oil consumption by a quarter.

Since 1979, the amount of oil imported by the western world has dropped 10 per cent.

All summits up to now have been marked by the problems of oil prices and attempts to come to terms with this development via political reaction.

It is certainly no coincidence that the first meeting followed the oil shock in 1973/74 and that the determined resistance to such developments followed the second price increases in 1979/80.

State and government leaders pressed their concern at the successive vast increases in oil prices, which was in no way reflected in other areas of policy, but not in the market conditions.

They underlined a fact of which it would seem, is now being realised: the Opec countries themselves have realised the limits of their power.

"The fact is that the countries of the free world, including developing countries and the history of the EEC is at the same time dependent. They must help each other to overcome their economic development and the accompanying political decisions.

The realisation of this fact seems to be the due reward for the assistance shown by the seven industrialised nations.

"Politics is like drilling planks of wood; you need a good eye at the same time. This classic definition by German sociologist and economist continued on page 8

## THE EEC

## Farm policy remains a mess as the squabbling continues

Most people agree that the Common Agricultural Policy is over-reform. Those who are in a hurry to take action know that something must be done. But they don't know what.

There are many disturbing aspects of the EEC farm policy. Milk subsidies are the taxpayer more than a million an hour. Tons of food are destroyed to keep prices stable, yet people in the parts of the world are starving.

Shocks are accepted and changes in other areas of policy, but not in the policy.

There really is no alternative to the eight marathon meetings in Brussels, the hefty and often violent demonstrations by farmers, the slogans and political black-

board. The answer is, probably, no. The history of the EEC is at the same time dependent. They must help each other to overcome their economic development and the accompanying political decisions.

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National prestige was the main reason why France torpedoed the principle of majority decisions in the Council of Ministers.

They finally managed to push through their demand of a right to veto in cases where "vital national interests" are at stake (the Luxembourg compromise).

This was certainly an uneasy compromise which has dogged many European initiatives ever since.

Attempts to change the Community's labour policy, to reform the financing of the Community budget, to help the ailing steel industry, or to develop some kind of joint foreign policy have all failed due to the principle of unanimity.

The ageless dispute over a common fisheries policy would have long since been solved had it not been for the compromise in Luxembourg.

Crises in the EEC are always marked by the same structures and symptoms.

Just a few days ago, Chancellor Kohl promised Spain's Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez that he would support Spain's efforts to join the Community.

And the Chancellor knows only too well that this membership will not be free of charge.

The discussions on money for the EEC must, therefore, initially be carried out in Bonn.

The Chancellor and his Foreign Minister would like to buy Lady Europe a new dress, but Finance Minister Stoltenberg is not yet willing to open his wallet.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 May 1983)

## Just what the treasury doesn't need

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is not likely to be happy about EEC Commission proposals to reduce community financing.

At home, he's been trying to save money. He can't stop debt from rising, but he can't stop it from rising.

Now, Brussels expects him to counter a bill of exchange which asks the Federal Republic to pay a further 100 million DM to the EEC a year.

There's a comparison to give an idea of the sum of money involved. The reduction of grants for school-children, which triggered off such controversy at home, dealt with a sum of DM240m.

Stoltenberg had already stated his opposition to the proposal during the European Savings Banks annual meeting a few days ago.

The EEC cannot expect to enjoy unlimited growth, said Stoltenberg, and also learn to come to terms with growth rates. This sounds reasonable, but it doesn't help solve the problem.

The European Community is facing a financial problem. The next months may already see it threatened by insolvency due to the record high last year and the unfavourable development of international agricultural prices, both of which have led to substantial increases in costs.

These costs, however, are the result of decisions made by the Council of Ministers, that is, by all ten governments. The respective finance ministers must face up to the responsibility for the consequences of these decisions.

Brussels cannot be expected to conduct membership negotiations with Spain and Portugal without having first decided the financial framework of the Community.

## Hopes build over increasing trade with Soviet Union

mid-seventies for political and economic reasons but is to be revived by reversing the direction of the flow of electricity.

The Federal Republic is now to become a supplier of electricity.

In view of the present discussions on energy policy in the Federal Republic this sort of speculation would seem better suited for a pub discussion than serious political consideration.

The American reports of extending natural gas supplies to Siberia belong in the same category.

There would seem to be more meat to speculations concerning the huge brown-coal fields in Kansk-Aldinsk. At least, they are known to exist.

It is also known that transporting this material would not be economical. It would have to be refined on the spot.

Talks about this with German firms have been going on for five years and it may well move up a peg on the Soviet priority list.

However, it is not likely to be tackled until the 1990s, although it is already a welcome topic for discussion.

Soviet diplomats and newspapers too are again resorting to the old stick and carrot method.

They are training their sights on the coming economic summit in Williamsburg and the deployment of American medium-range missiles.

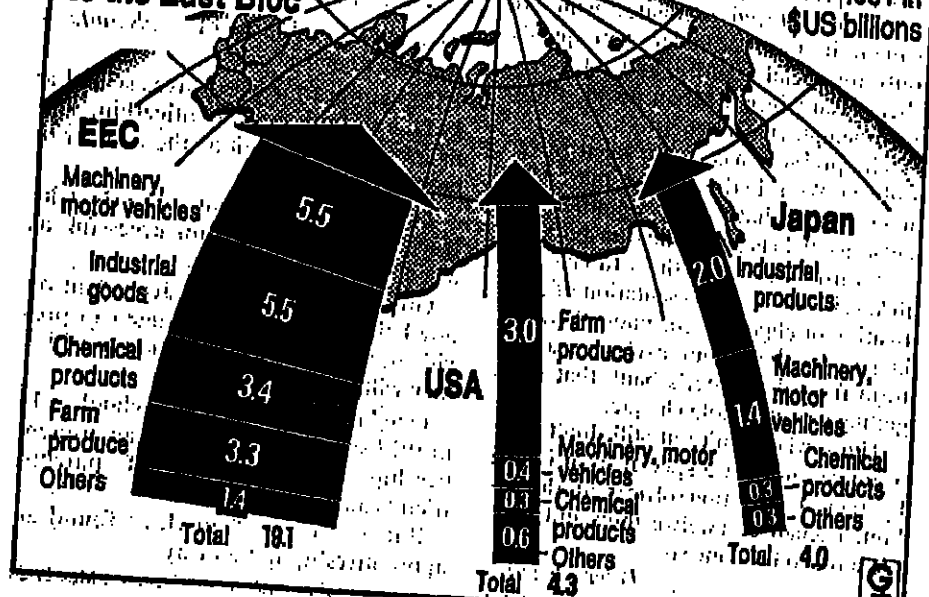
The suggestion is made that the policy of détente led to an upswing in East-West trade, and that the aggravation of the present climate will in turn lead to a worsening of such trade relations.

However, there is general agreement that the exchange of goods began to flourish after the East Bloc had ceased to regard foreign trade as a mere stop-gap to compensate for its own bottlenecks and opened up its economy.

Up to now, there are no signs that there will be a fundamental change in this approach.

Those involved in trade with the East Bloc are therefore more concerned

### What the West exports to the East Bloc



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The Commission presupposes that the present sources of income will remain the same.

The customs duties resulting from the ECSC treaty ought to be included in the community's general budget and not represent a separate item.

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The Commission therefore suggests that this contribution should on no account exceed 10 per cent.

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The minister carrying out the negotiations is under constant pressure to bring a good result back home.

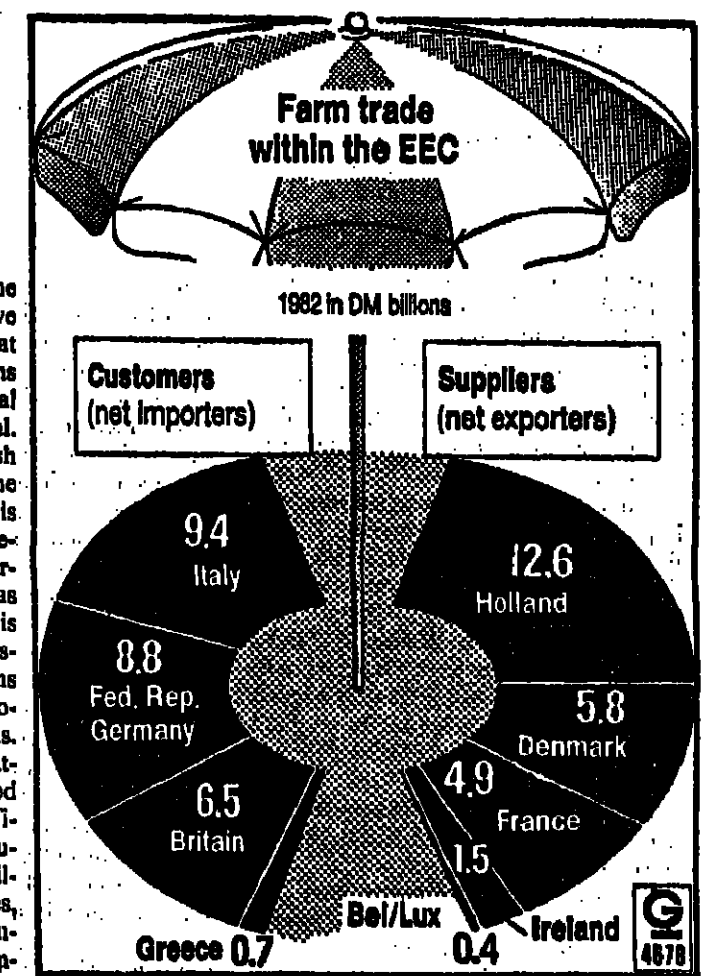
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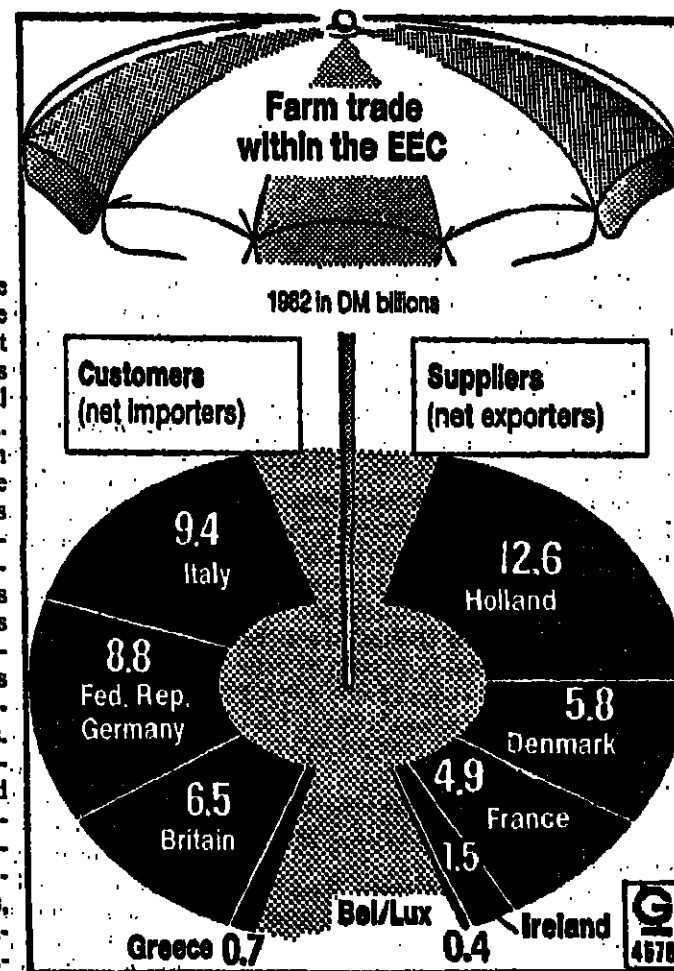
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Their exports are levied by about eight per cent, for example, at the German.

Continued on page 9



There is a mood of conjecture over trade with the Soviet Union. Chancellor Kohl visits Moscow in July and there are hopes that now, gigantic-scale projects will be agreed.

Exceptions are even higher than they were over the last spectacular project, the construction of the Siberian pipeline.

Just before the invasion of Afghanistan, there was talk of billions of marks in orders, but German firms have hardly noticed any difference.

The Soviets concentrated on areas most beneficial to their own needs. And this, despite the fact that during this period their party chief then, Leonid Brezhnev, himself visited Bonn.

But there is new talk of the West-East Electricity Combine — with its rectifier stations, to be built by German firms. This project was buried during the

## Hopes build over increasing trade with Soviet Union

mid-seventies for political and economic reasons but is to be revived by reversing the direction of the flow of electricity.

The Federal Republic is now to become a supplier of electricity.

In view of the present discussions on energy policy in the Federal Republic this sort of speculation would seem better suited for a pub discussion than serious political consideration.

The American reports of extending natural gas supplies to Siberia belong in the same category.

There would seem to be more meat to speculations concerning the huge brown-coal fields in Kansk-Atschinsk. At least, they are known to exist.

It is also known that transporting this material would not be economical. It would have to be refined on the spot.

Talks about this with German firms have been going on for five years and it may well move up a peg on the Soviet priority list.

However, it is not likely to be tackled until the 1990s, although it is already a welcome topic for discussion.

Soviet diplomats and newspapers too are again resorting to the old stick and carrot method.

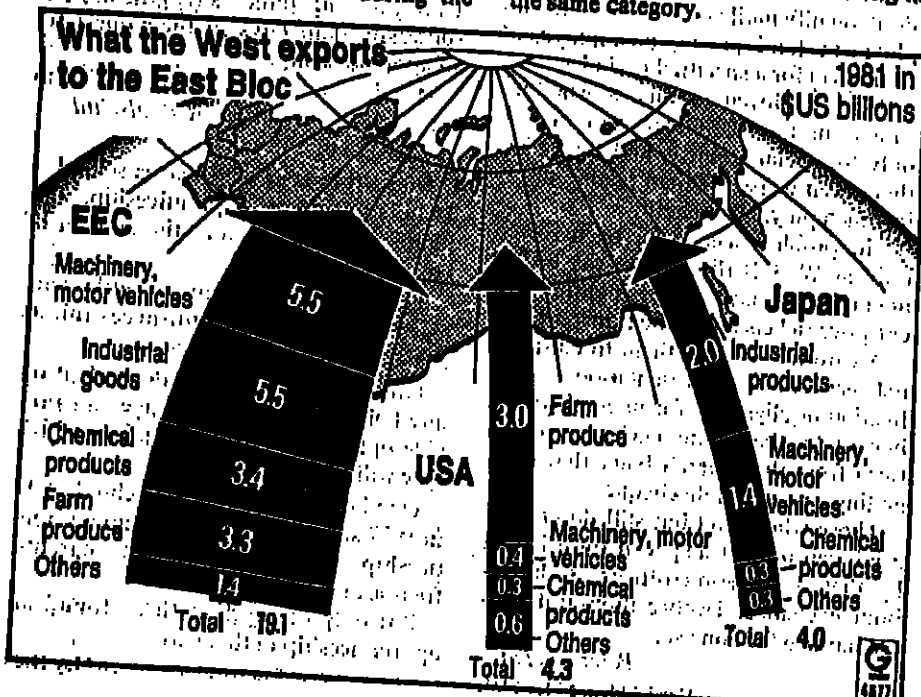
They are training their sights on the coming economic summit in Williamsburg and the deployment of American medium-range missiles.

The suggestion is made that the policy of détente led to an upswing in East-West trade, and that the aggravation of the present climate will in turn lead to a worsening of such trade relations.

However, there is general agreement that the exchange of goods began to flourish after the East Bloc had ceased to regard foreign trade as a mere stop-gap to compensate for its own bottleneck situations and opened up its economy.

Up to now, there are no signs that there will be a fundamental change in this approach.

Those involved in trade with the East Bloc are therefore more concerned



Sp 11 in 1.30



Time is fast running out for the US and Soviet delegations at the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles in Europe.

If they fail to reach agreement the West will go ahead at the end of the year with missile modernisation plans that have been in the pipeline since the end of 1979.

The first new US missiles will then be scheduled for installation in five Western European countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

In December 1979 Nato gave itself four years in which to negotiate a missile agreement with the Soviet Union in Europe.

Time will soon run out, and what will happen when the first Pershing 2 missiles arrive in Germany? This is a question both supporters and opponents of missile modernisation are asking.

They all make a livelihood out of converting differences of opinion into major clashes, whereas what is needed now is to find out what views are held in common, and not where the differences lie.

This is as true of the Geneva talks as it is of the domestic missile debate in Germany.

The two sides in Geneva have not made much headway, neither on fundamental points nor on detail.

The Soviet Union wants to prevent the United States from stationing medium-range missiles in Europe yet wants to retain the right itself.

That explains why Moscow had called for the number of British and French strategic weapons to be taken as the yardstick for Soviet medium-range missiles.

The Russians want to limit not only missiles but also nuclear warheads in

## PERSPECTIVE

# Time is running out for missile negotiators

Europe, yet in such a way that the number of US strategic bombers in Europe is reduced, and not their own.

They also continue to oppose any idea of a worldwide limitation in land-based medium-range missiles, preferring to limit the talks to missiles in Europe and to retain a free hand in Asia.

All these points are unacceptable to the United States and to the West as a whole. So there are sound reasons for doubting whether the Geneva talks will achieve results.

But that would be unnecessarily pessimistic. The two sides are still talking, and their positions remain ambiguous enough to leave room for compromise.

Take the latest offer by the Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, to count not just the number of missiles but the number of warheads in any agreement.

That is certainly similar to what the West has in mind. Soviet SS-20s each have three independently targetable warheads, whereas the planned new US missiles have only a single one (as do the current British and French missiles).

"We do not want the Soviet Union to have more missiles and warheads than Nato," Mr Andropov said in an after-dinner address in honour of the visiting GDR leader, Herr Honecker.

It remains to be seen whether this new formula will be sufficient to override fundamental differences.

Is the Soviet Union prepared to agree to much more far-reaching cuts in the number of its SS-20s than has been supposed?

Might it be prepared to accept both British and French nuclear weapons and a measure of US missile modernisation? Experts are disagreed on this point.

Mr Andropov's statement certainly cannot be said to rule out a compromise. So Mr Reagan, who is otherwise quick to dismiss Soviet bids, is right in assessing this latest Soviet initiative as a positive step.

It must now be sounded out in Geneva. There is no reason for yet assuming that missile modernisation in full is absolutely inevitable.

There is no cause for abandoning the traditional consensus among established political parties in Bonn on security policy either.

The Bundestag debate on the government's policy statement undoubtedly highlighted the differences between the coalition parties and the Social Democrats.

There is a growing inclination in the SPD to oppose missile modernisation at its party conference this autumn regardless of failure to reach agreement in Geneva.

In calling for renewed consideration whether new missiles might not be based at sea rather than on land the Social Democrats are virtually scuppering the dual-track Nato resolution.

This idea was reviewed in 1979 and rejected by a majority of Nato countries, especially the Scandinavians.

Some Social Democrats are particularly harsh in their criticism of President Reagan because they hope to be able to show that the United States has not done its utmost, as Chancellor Schmidt put it last October, to come to terms with the Soviet Union.

They would then arguably find it easier to justify going back on the Nato resolution.

Yet despite their evident malaise the leaders of the SPD Bundestag Opposition are still in favour of the essentials of the Nato resolution.

Points shared on both sides of the House are readily found:

● Government, and Opposition are agreed in several respects on the Soviet arms build-up.

● "The Soviet Union," Social Democrat Horst Ehmke only recently told the Bundestag, "created the entire problem in the first place with its SS-20 missile build-up."

● Soviet offers so far are likewise agreed to have been inadequate. "They don't go far enough," says Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel.

● Christian and Social Democrats agree on the need to plan for and announce details of missile modernisation to pressure the Soviet Union into negotiating seriously.

The SPD would admittedly like to see the deadline for negotiations extended.

● Both are clearly committed to the Atlantic alliance. "It is not at issue as far as we are concerned," Herr Vogel has said, "and certainly not negotiable."

The SPD leaders' views are not as unambiguous as they were in Helmut Schmidt's days but they still retain

much of the consensus that has been on Bonn's foreign policy for years.

It is a consensus, and a policy, that has made the Federal Republic of Germany consistent and influential in world affairs.

These views shared must not be abandoned until it is absolutely agreed that agreement has grown merely and that is not yet the case.

Consensus can be premature, but it will be allowed to ride small waves only. They will qualify for a full sea only when they have proved themselves.

What if limitation of missile modernisation were to be accomplished at a driving schools are to be implemented?

That could be the outcome, but for the informal agreement last summer by the two child Mr Nitze of the United States.

Mr Nitze of the Soviet Union must now be sounded out in Geneva. There is no reason for yet assuming that missile modernisation in full is absolutely inevitable.

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## ROAD SAFETY

# Beginners' licence planned in bid to cut motorcycle death toll

Every spring there is a fresh crop of young motorcyclists with no training on country roads. The longer and worse the winter was, the more they are raring to go.

No-one at a seminar in Sindelfingen, near Stuttgart, held by the Bonn Transport Ministry went so far as to call motorcyclists potential suicides, but the facts and figures speak for themselves.

The overall cost of all the deaths and injuries is estimated at over DM4bn a year, and that is only the material damage. It does not include ruined lives and families.

The Frankfurt hospital is one of nine of its kind in Germany and its statistics may be regarded as typical for the country as a whole.

Over a four-year period it treated 363 motorcyclists rushed in from the scene of traffic accidents. Nearly half (47.3 per cent, or 172) were crocked for life.

Twenty-eight are now paraplegics, or wheelchair-bound cripples. Eight have been paralysed in both arms and legs. They will need looking after for the rest of their lives.

They will find it incredibly difficult to learn and practise a trade, and in many cases they will never have families of their own.

There is also a significant increase in the number of fractured skulls, which are typical of the trend toward heavier bikes.

As a general rule the bigger the bike the more serious the accident. The average patient spends 23 weeks in hospital, but it can take anything up to two and three quarter years for an open fracture of the shin to mend.

On average the hospital is paid DM35,500 for treatment, but the actual cost is far higher. A day in an intensive care ward costs DM2,500.

Yet nothing seems to deter bike-lovers from the mortality.

Many motorcyclists are lucky and get off with minor injuries. Others are taken to the mortuary.

## Farm policy

Continued from page 7

border in an effort to guarantee equal opportunity for the suppliers on markets of member states.

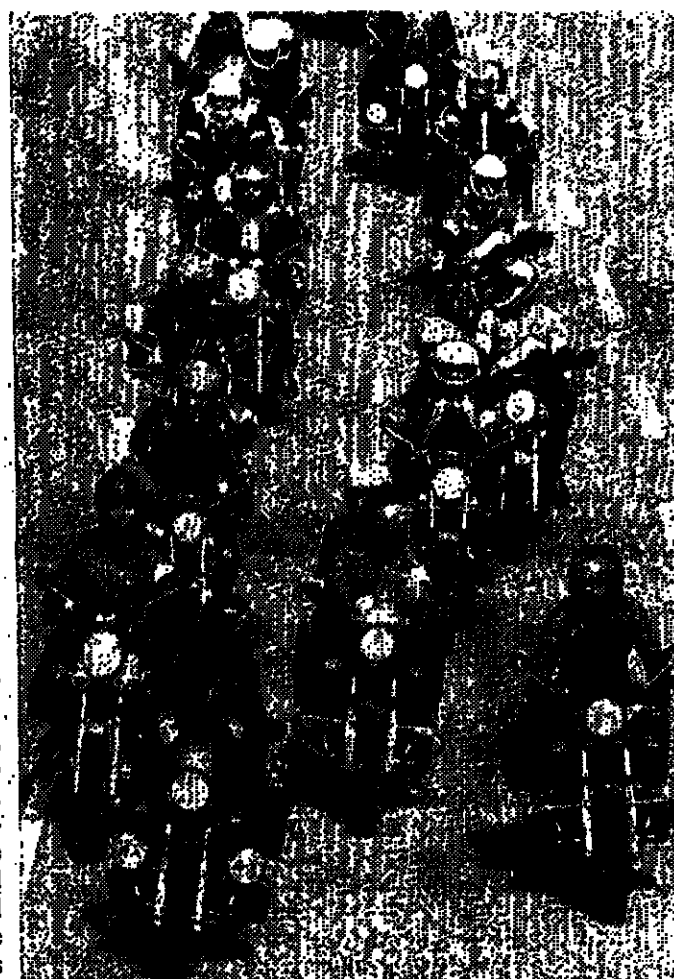
However, this currency differential between France and the Federal Republic has become an extremely sore point between the two countries, and the French Minister of Agriculture, Michel Rocard, believes that the system itself is a distortion of competition.

The levy must be cut by about five per cent. Even at the present compromise level of three per cent, the German farmers wouldn't see much left of the 10 per cent price increase.

Mr Rocard, the German Minister of Agriculture, cannot accept this. He says that the more difficult the situation is, the more difficult the EC Council until June. So there will have to be more bargaining, just like in an annual bazaar.

Things just don't change. All the bargaining and squabbling tends to the fact that reform is overdue.

Rainer Burchardt  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 8 May 1983)



The trouble is that this (see picture below) ...

(Photo: dpa)

saw the trend. But the growing number of two-wheelers continues to grow.

New registrations were up 70 per cent in 1981 over 1980, whereas new registrations of private cars were down four per cent.

There are currently 11 motorcycles per 1,000 head of population. If the trend continues unabated, there will be 29 by the end of the decade.

Hamburg University sociologist Peter Schmidt has taken a closer look at the motorcyclist's mind, especially the younger and juvenile motorcyclist.

Biking nowadays is mainly a leisure pursuit; it used to be strictly a means of transport and as such was used mainly for getting to and from work.

Half the motorcyclists he dealt with were working-class in origin and often suffered from a lack of social recognition.

Biking, Schmidt says, is a well-nigh ideal way of working off steam for these youngsters.

So the motorcycle is, as far as they are concerned, mainly a means by which to offset social deficits and less a hobby or leisure activity.

If the age at which the moped kids join the two-wheeler ranks is borne in mind it will be realised that motorcyclists as a whole are a group suffering from errors, failures and disappointments.

Biking provides an opportunity of compensating for the upsets of everyday life. It is an adventure. It is also felt to be an ideal means of getting to know other people.

So the Hamburg sociologist concludes that the motorcycle is best described as an "instrument of status rivalry on the road between people of unequal social status."

Schmidt himself has ridden a motorcycle for 20 years and is a longstanding member of a Hamburg motorcycle club with which he regularly goes on outings.

"A large proportion of motorcyclists not only feel the need for self-assertion and compensation of social deficits," he says.

"They also feel that freedom on two wheels is a necessity for them."

Continued on page 12

## Politics at first hand

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## HEALTH

## Profit motive + public interest = moves towards eliminating asbestos

It has been known for 50 years that asbestos fibre mined in Canada, South Africa and the Soviet Union is dangerous.

Yet that did not halt the triumphant progress of inexpensive and invaluable asbestos products all over the world.

Nothing happened until the 1970s in Germany. Then, action was prompted by a variety of causes and fears, including the emergence of a new environmental awareness.

It was combined with accident research findings indicating dozens of asbestos deaths and US statistics showing that workers using asbestos for insulation ran five to seven times the average risk of lung cancer.

Then the closure of 35 gymnasia all over Germany made headline news. They were all asbestos-insulated and said to be an asbestos dust health hazard.

It took all this before progress made headway and it was generally agreed that satisfactory substitutes and alternatives to asbestos had to be found.

They weren't found overnight. Even now, years later, the asbestos industry is still complaining that the entire issue was dealt with over-emotionally, irresponsibly and out of all proportion.

There is said to be a world of difference between varieties of asbestos. Manufacturers say the spraying process, which has been banned in the Federal

Republic of Germany since 1979, is much more dangerous than finished products made of asbestos cement.

Asbestos spraying is claimed to release much more asbestos in the form of fine dust that can affect the lungs, whereas finished products are little more of a health hazard than the occasional cigarette.

A note of sorrowful farewell was even sounded at a gathering called in Berlin by Eternit, the principal manufacturers of asbestos cement in Germany.

The organisers seemed sorry to wave goodbye to the grey mixture of asbestos fibre, cement and water that seems to be around just about everywhere.

It is used for roof tiles and window boxes, brake linings and drainpipes, and it isn't simply inexpensive: it's acidproof, fireproof, weatherproof and tensionproof.

There can be few materials that combine so many invaluable properties. Unfortunately it is also a health hazard.

Such occasions also present a convenient opportunity of saying how long ago (a decade or more) the company embarked on the quest for a substitute for asbestos fibre, so keenly was it aware of the health risk.

Yet board chairman Ernst Thöni frankly admitted that the growing scarcity and skyrocketing price of asbestos

on world markets had been the main reason for the quest in the first place.

The health debate undoubtedly accelerated the process, but the third and overriding factor that prompted the snail of progress to get a move on was an even more telling one.

In Karl Marx's anniversary year ideologists might well be tempted to claim a victory for the working classes in their struggle against capitalism.

The fact is simply that people stopped buying asbestos. In 1981 the asbestos industry was plunged into its most serious crisis since the war.

The recession was bad enough. Coupled with a virtual consumer boycott it forced manufacturers to lay off a third of their work force.

"People simply insisted on asbestos-free products," Herr Thöni said. The market had its say, and the resulting struggle for survival meant overtime for research and development divisions.

That will have been the reason why the industry, after a few initial clashes and months of talks, came to terms with Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum and agreed last year on an innovation programme.

They did so at a time when asbestos products were already subject to controls or banned in Scandinavia.

The Bonn government recently published an interim report on progress in the first year of the programme, and it makes remarkable reading.

This year the fibre count in the overall output of the asbestos cement industry will be cut by 15 per cent (out of a target total of 50 per cent over a five-year period).

Eighty to 90 per cent of output will consist of finished and prefabricated parts needing no further processing, with accompanying health hazards, on the construction site.

Low-dust processing equipment is being manufactured and 70,000 units have already been sold. Asbestos products are to be marked with a warning symbol and no longer sold at do-it-yourself shops.

Even the Environmental Protection Agency, which for years warned against asbestos and welcomed every headline

there was, admits the progress is excellent.

A spokesman for the Federal Agency in Berlin even said it set a "very positive" example, as the EPA pointed out, in action but to do so.

Manufacturers feel bound themselves on the back and the asbestos dust health hazard must surely have been reduced tenfold.

But less than one asbestos worker in five has so far been satisfied with the progress. The Motor manufacturers, for instance, are most reluctant to convert to free brake and clutch linings.

Saab have done so. So have Renault in the Passat and Santana. Yet the materials used in place of asbestos have a much longer life in the car.

The EPA remains convinced five years at the latest all manufacturers will have snuffed the change.

### Pressures mount

They will arguably be forced by the environmental conscience of the man in the street, aided and abetted by the Environmental Protection Agency, both of which are pressing for asbestos being banned.

The new Bonn government, predecessor, calls for asbestos to be reduced in the health risk.

But it will still take time. Research and the quest for an alternative material are useful as they are not get under way until the late 1980s.

It is hard going. Eternit says it will not be until the late 1990s that it can produce a full replacement product, Kuralon, have made headway so far.

Other chemicals manufacturers joined the fray, realising that asbestos, two stretchers, two zinc fibre suitable as a replacement material, test-tubes and bird's-head skeletons, preserve jars and a handful of other objects.

They are arranged with considered regularity in the largest of the Kunstverein's exhibition halls, and that is all public interest in environmental protection and health can confidently be expected to produce results.

Otto Jäger  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 May 1983)

## Accident research helps cut industrial injuries

Accident research is claimed to have played a leading role in reducing the annual toll of industrial injuries from 2.7 million in 1970 to 1.8 million last year.

Research findings were instrumental in pinpointing causes to be eliminated, Wolfram Jetter said at the Hannover Fair. He is acting head of the Labour Protection and Accident Research Establishment in Dortmund.

The number of deaths in accidents at work declined from 6,500 to about 3,500 during the period under review.

Better security precautions and advances in humanisation of working conditions have thus effectively reduced the economic cost of industrial injuries.

Herr Jetter said their overall cost to the economy totalled between DM30bn and DM35bn a year.

Accident research specialists emphasised has changed in the last few years. "Clean" jobs have been eliminated, and the emergence of fresh symptoms of illness.

At Hannover the Dortmund unit exhibited new designs for working standing up, for working kneeling and for working as a supervisor.

Designers can use an illustration of the motions workers go through technically as a photograph, it can assist them in devising ideal conditions.

The entire process also enables researchers to check the choice of media: paintings and new ideas have the desired effect, make work safer and more human.

(Münchener Morgen, 12 May 1983)

## EXHIBITIONS

## Death without frills, just cold, final and dead

The current exhibition at Hamburg's Kunstverein, entitled *Todesbilder*, pictures of Death, is in its way a work of art in its own right.

Most people find it extremely difficult to conceptualise death in any way. Motor manufacturers, for instance, are most reluctant to convert to free brake and clutch linings.

Instead of equating death and dying with concepts such as destiny, fate and violence they have merely assembled most credible depictions of death could find and dispensed with any intellectualisation.

The result is impressive, and not least a work of art in its own right.

Edward Munch's view of the end of a metabolic process is given the weight as Ferdinand Hodler's statement over the slow death of the man he loved, Valentine Godé.

In drawing her, Hodler daily sought to understand anew the meaning of death.

Arnulf Rainer's view of life as an anticipation of death is seen as no less than Alfred Hrdlicka's repeated attempt to discover in death a last drop of life.

Rudolf Schwarzkogler's effective criminalisation of the might of modern intensive medical care (the artist himself is depicted amid tubes, drips, wires and bandages) is seen as equal in importance to Joseph Beuys' criticism of the deathly pose of terminal wards.

Beuys' seven-year-old Munich environment *Zeige deine Wunde* (Show Me Your Scar), here now arranged, is undoubtedly one of the pictures of death in Hamburg.

It consists of a blank blackboard, two shades, two stretchers, two zinc fibre suitable as a replacement material, test-tubes and bird's-head skeletons, preserve jars and a handful of other objects.

They are arranged with considered regularity in the largest of the Kunstverein's exhibition halls, and that is all public interest in environmental protection and health can confidently be expected to produce results.

Otto Jäger  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 May 1983)

It may initially come as a surprise to find as part of this year's Ruhr Festival an exhibition on the subject of masks at Recklinghausen Kunsthaus.

The festival keynote is the 50th anniversary of the Nazi take-over in 1933 and the uses and abuses of power. Are masks not just fun and games?

The Recklinghausen exhibition is entitled *Who Shows His True Face?* and that means us all.

But the decor is so gloomy that visitors are sure to make the inferences needed and the organisers need have no doubt that visitors will not be struck by play or prompted to give their imaginations free rein.

Earlier on in the course of the exhibition the visitor may have been at a loss for words. Here they are no longer needed.

It is a fitting accompaniment that the explanations throughout the exhibition are as short and to the point as the exhibits are beyond dispute.

The sense of concern with which the majority of the 12 artists whose work is featured want about their work is fully apparent.

The exhibition is arranged in an orderly way. Each artist has his own room in each room a different tale is told, with the result that there are some striking leaps in time, from Munch and Hodler to Beuys and the moderns.

There are also jumps in generation, in degree of experience and in the choice of media: paintings and prints, photographs and objects, room settings and even a videotape of Ulrike Benbach's grandmother eating.

This masked head was made out of bronze by Reiner Krieser. It is among the exhibits at Recklinghausen's Kunsthaus. (Photo: Catalogue)

(Jochen Gerz) and either tried again and again (Arnulf Rainer) or worked serially (Helmut Gruber). It virtually goes without saying that the exhibition also features many examples of accomplished craftsmanship. The categories of craftsmanship and aestheticism in which the artist work are mainly familiar. Besides, categories are problematic in view of the subject. All experience is personal at the moment of death and artistic freedom of expression requires protection of the artist's feelings at such moments. He is entitled to protection, from attribution and assessment, which are bound at moments such as these to be wrong. Anyone who wants to gain anything from the Hamburg exhibition must set aside at least for a few moments any idea of committing himself.

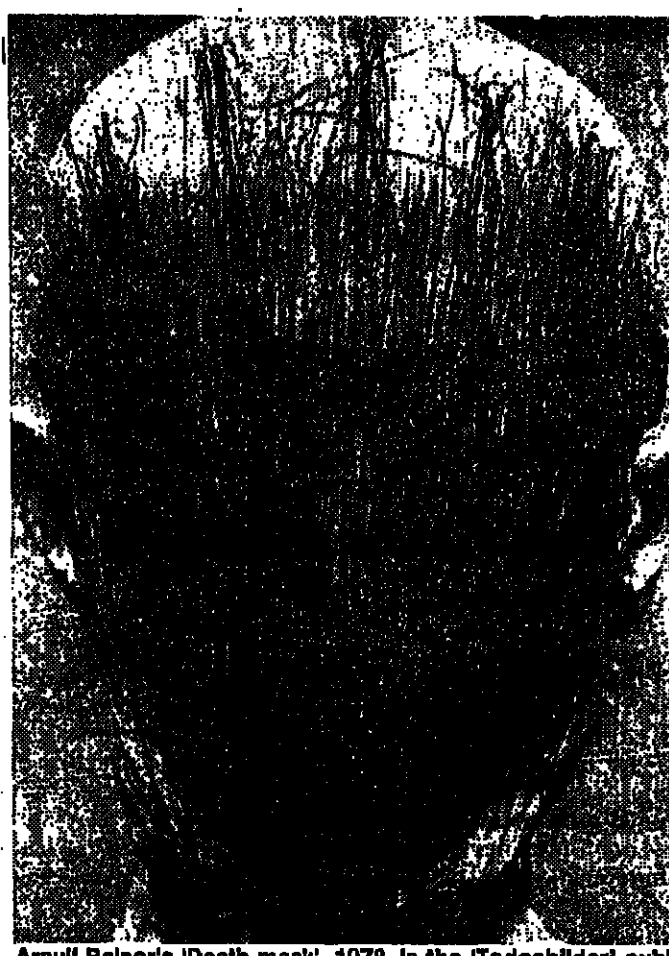
All that can be said is that it is no longer as shrouded in secrecy as it once was and thus no longer as easy to symbolise as it was in Munch's days.

Munch used symbols such as Adam and Eve and the Tree of Knowledge against a background of skulls from which young plants grow.

Instead, they now experience it in an even more elementary and direct manner. The forms and strategies of transmission are arguably more subtle; that is all.

Most of the 12 artists were so stricken by the death of a loved one or someone they greatly admired that they dealt with the subject several times.

They were compassionate (Hodler), fascinated (Hrdlicka) or repelled (Beuys), pursued by beautiful fantasies (Günther Brus) or exact recollections



Arnulf Rainer's 'Death mask', 1978, in the 'Todesbilder' exhibition. (Photo: Kunstverein in Hamburg)

He would do better to dispense with words. Jürgen Schmidt (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 May 1983)

## Masquerade of mankind, the secrets behind the mask

the world. Goya went on to say that "everything is feigned, everyone is a deceiver, and no-one knows himself."

At the Ruhr Festival the mask must also be taken as a reflection on the festival's own sense and purpose: the masquerade as a mirror held out to the audience by actors on stage.

Examples taken from the stage are as carefully chosen as exhibits from the life of primitive peoples. They range from Japanese No masks to lion and fish facial masks worn in a 1977 production of Faust II.

The austerity of metal stage masks designed in the late-1920s under the influence of the Bauhaus school is particularly impressive.

Mask is also taken to mean the child-like pleasure in dressing up for a part, just as the carnival in all its aspects is a major aspect.

It ranges from the tradition of harmless tomfoolery to the Alemañic carnival, which features frightening masks that were originally designed to repel evil spirits.

The mask in art is, however, probably the most important part of the exhibition. It is hard to say how many artists have used the mask as a symbol, especially in the 20th century.

They range from Horst Aitken and James Ensor to Paul Klee, René Magritte and Picasso.

They all, each in his own way, used the masquerade of mankind to show joie de vivre and, more often, to criticise and unmask what lies behind rigid physiognomy.

The death mask comes last in this fascinating array of people and civilisations, with mummies from Ancient Egypt and paintings and sculpture by contemporary artists illustrating Shakespeare's words in Henry IV.

Dying, he wrote, is a mask, for he who does not have human life is only a mask of a man.

Hannes Hardering (Weidenbacher Allgemeine, 4 May 1983)

## Meteorological stations all over the world



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## ■ BEHAVIOUR

# Truth revealed at last: why nice children turn into horrible adults

Until recently, the reason for neurotic personality structures was thought to lie in the individual's childhood experiences.

This basic cause-effect relationship is being questioned more and more by experts in psychology.

They believe that the function a person assumes within the family or a similar group and the roles conferred are of equal importance for the development of an individual's personality.

As confirmed by this year's Psychotherapy Week in Lindau, the classic question of why this person behaves in this way and not in some other way, has been replaced by the question of why he behaves like this.

This does not belittle the significance of past experience but underlines that the knowledge of such experience is not important, perhaps not even essential, for understanding the changes in the realities of human interaction.

The present function of psychological phenomena within the individual's frame work of relationships is of greater importance in this respect.

This is where therapeutic measures can help most.

The "equity theory," for example, is based on the central assumption that humans wish to live within the context of balanced relations.

"Balanced" is seen to mean the quan-

titative nature of characteristics, abilities and competences which a person can offer his/her partner.

Many people suffer under unbalanced relationships and often leave their partner if a change cannot be achieved.

Of course, the success of such a change also depends a great deal on the partner.

Professor K. König from Tiefenbrunn spoke on the primary criteria for partner selection.

If all other factors are similar, the partner chosen is usually of a similar attractiveness.

If the external attractiveness varies there are very often other compensatory factors.

A man, for example, who is much older than his partner may well find social status, experience in life or kindness compensating for his age.

The desire not only to be loved by one's partner but also admired can become a determinant factor in choice.

Very often the person who suffers most from an unbalanced relationship is not the one who receives less but who can offer less.

For example, a woman who may well have greatly admired her husband when they decided to marry may not acknowledge his occupational successes later on.

They may decide to split up, not because the husband no longer needs the admiration from his wife but because

she now demands something from him which he cannot give, for example more time.

His wife is no longer interested or satisfied with what he can offer, for example social prestige.

König explained how the choice of a partner is guided by traces of past memories which are associated with interaction with members of one's own family.

In many cases, those memories relate to the actual parents, yet in some cases there is a mental picture of ideal parents who compensate for the shortcomings of real parents.

All aspects which were important during contacts with such central persons — not necessarily with the real parents — are stored in a person's memory together with feeling of acceptance and sympathy or dislike and contradiction.

Professor E. Sperling pointed out that the relationship to grandparents are just as important as the child-parent relationship when it comes to family therapy.

In many cases, the person asks himself: why am I like I am? I could quite easily have turned out completely different! The evaluation of family histories has shown that this is not the case.

Family therapy has revealed that the family must be viewed as a whole, including the grandparents.

The previously accepted principle of linear causality is thus replaced by the more circular cybernetic principle of interaction.

Such systems' theory-oriented approaches and the resultant paradox intervention strategies have been remarkably successful.

The tendency to become depressed, to contemplate suicide or to suffer from anorexia nervosa are very often "kept in the family" for generations.

The main aspect here is not the actual illness but the ideology handed down within the family.

Sperling is convinced that pathological anorexia, for example, is not part of an ascetic ideal which suddenly emerges and then disappears just as quickly.

Just like the formation of other ideas and life-styles, such ideas have a long family tradition and are also influenced by the immediate social environment.

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## Twins, quins, quads etc: washing nappies only the beginning

Twins are very often at a disadvantage. Their parents are more often than not emotionally, educationally and economically overtaxed.

This is the finding of a study carried out for the *Allgemeine Rentenanstalt* (ARA) and published in Frankfurt.

A group of sociologists and social psychologists from the University of Frankfurt took a look at 35 families with twins or more.

They discovered that in many cases the initial reaction to the extra bundle(s) of joy was one of "shock."

The researchers found out that to begin with, many parents of twins are pushed to their emotional limits.

Caring for babies is a particularly

"difficult technical problem" for experienced mothers.

There is not even help in the form of fathers and mothers who have to bring up the children on their own.

The study confirms that economic problems are the main worry in the question of upbringing.

There are no clear answers to the question of competition among children whether parents should place more emphasis on the individual development of their children.

Hardly any literature is available on the subject.

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## MODERN LIVING

# Four survive in open boat after yacht sunk by gunfire, but questions linger

Members of a team of German radio amateurs killed when their yacht was gunned off the coast of a remote island in the South China Sea. Four survived 10 days in a dinghy before being rescued. But all sorts of questions remain. One concerns the role of Balder Drobica, 48, one of the survivors. He is a member of the *Verfassungsschutz*, a German counter-espionage agency. Is he a spy?

Problems are often brushed under the excuse "we don't want to get involved."

This creates substantial problems of unreality between generations which should be dealt with using multi-generation therapy.

The illness can then be seen as analysing the past, present and future.

Sperling confirmed that the matter what age, do their attitudes up to the expectations of the future and to help them in all of these.

This starts with the three children giving their father's name so that he gets over an illness right through to the end of his studies to be something better" in life, some father always wanted to become a doctor.

Family loyalty is a very important factor and psychotherapeutic work often comes up against a barrier of loyalty to his family.

The patient's resistance can lead to the failure of such therapy.

Professor J. G. Lemaire declined the such resistance to therapy threatened to disrupt relationships within the family.

This particularly applies to those whose togetherness is not the result of erotic desires but of other needs.

The narcissistic help of one's partner consists of accepting the partner's weakness.

The love-bond between two people acts as a protecting shield for the dual, as does the framework of the family.

However, if an easily vulnerable person requires too much of such aid things can become dangerous.

Children are then in many cases the receiving end of the sick love of the parents.

The partners themselves are often the cause of the problem.

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member of the family may suddenly feel like an individual, a feeling the family or partner has not given him/her.

It is especially true for partners in "merged" relationships, where there is no clear dividing line between the personalities of the two individuals.

Persons in such a relationship live their own personality with that of their partner.

Any form of personality development must be a threat.

On the other hand, there are clear reality divisions for "symbolic" relationships, where desires and resistance are not each other.

The differing roles assumed by each partner allow individual development to take place so that such couples are able to accept new ways of life.

Wolfgang Gryn (Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 May 1983)

salt water and Peter Marx a chest wound from the shooting.

Drobica explained what happened when the yacht's Mayday calls ("We are under fire" and "The ship is on fire") were heard by radio hams all over the world.

The *Siddhartha* had sailed to within about a mile of the island where the Cologne amateur radio enthusiasts planned to land heavy equipment and transmit to others all over the world for five days.

They were authorised to land by the Malaysian government, but ownership of the Spratly Islands is disputed, it is claimed by China, Vietnam, Taiwan and others.

As the crew scanned the coastline guns opened fire. The yacht's polyester hull is said to have been riddled by machine-gun fire and direct hits scored by 50mm shells.

The tanks containing fuel that was to have powered generators for the transmitter caught fire.

The hull was felt to be practically unsinkable, incorporating extra plastic floats, but it sank within minutes, partly due to the heavy load of radio equipment. The crew just had time to transmit distress signals before abandoning ship and hopping into the dinghy. Firing continued and Müller was killed and Marx injured.

Firing continued even after they had abandoned ship. Had it not been for the heavy swell the dinghy too might well have been hit and sunk.

The ordeal then began. In a telephone interview with Radio Luxembourg just after they were picked up Marx described the struggle for survival.

"The ship was lost in a matter of minutes. We had nothing left. There were very few options. Either we put up a struggle or we died. We decided to try and last the distance."

"Every morning we wished we had coffee for breakfast. Every evening at sundown we hoped to be alive to see sunrise the next day."

"While the dinghy appears to have been sent west by strong winds against the current, feverish activity began in a

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that helping one another also involved risks.

For example, the depressed state of a partner may be associated with the envy of the other and vice-versa.

Lemaire's opinion, any form of individual therapy should be preceded by work with the family or the person's partner.

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Safe on dry land again... Jenny Ton (left) and her husband Peter Marx (in background) and at right, Balder Drobica, after their rescue in the South China Sea. Their story is that they were on an innocent radio ham holiday when their yacht was shot out of the water.

(Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 April 1983)

bid to find the yacht or what remained of it.

Volker Bock flew to Singapore to hire an aircraft and scour the seas for it. The Bonn Foreign Office reached agreement with neighbouring countries for the Spratly Islands to be flown over during the search.

But there were no traces, so Bock suspected the yacht had been captured and sailed away. He only learnt from Drobica that the *Siddhartha* had sunk almost immediately.

Confusion was created by bogus Mayday calls reported during the search. A Malaysian ham even went so far as to claim that a Soviet nuclear submarine had taken four survivors and two corpses on board.

Hopes of finding survivors declined daily. Bock eventually flew home convinced the missing crew were being held by the Vietnamese and determined to trace their whereabouts with the help of the Foreign Office.

He had barely arrived home when the news came through that allowed four

Our man just on private holiday, says counter intelligence

Questions are hanging over the expedition by radio hams to the South China Sea in which two people died and four other members of the crew were rescued after 10 days without food or water.

Speculation has been prompted for one by the fact that one of the survivors works for the *Verfassungsschutz* the Cologne-based counter-espionage agency.

The Bonn government agency says it is a mistake and absurd to suggest that the radio expedition in which its 48-year-old employee Balder Drobica had taken part was in any way connected with the work.

The *Verfassungsschutz* is responsible for domestic intelligence activities and is not authorised to work abroad, but a spokesman added, Herr Drobica

would be asked in person to answer detailed questions.

Intelligence work abroad is handled by the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* in Fulda, Munich, where a spokesman said that as a matter of principle no comment was made on operations regardless whether allegations were true or false.

In a TV interview the shipwrecked mariner said he had visions just after batteries opened fire on the yacht *Siddhartha* of the crew not being rescued from the ship's dinghy until the 10th day of their Odyssey.

The spokesman for the *Verfassungsschutz* said, Herr Drobica was a keen radio ham and his strictly private holiday had been notified and given the go-ahead beforehand by his employer.

There was a ban on employees taking holidays in Communist countries, but no-one was expecting Herr Drobica to run into Vietnamese troops and it had not been felt necessary (nor had it been possible) to veto his holiday plans.

The *Siddhartha* sailed from Singapore to the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, a group claimed by several countries.

Three men and a woman survived for 10 days without water in the heat of the sea. This alone is a fact for which it is hard to account.

Another point that defies explanation is how the dinghy was driven 200 miles south-west, and off-course in relation to the prevailing wind and current, to the busy Singapore-Hong Kong shipping lane.

An immediate answer to these intriguing queries has been made more difficult now an illustrated magazine has clinched an exclusive contract to publish the story of what happened on board the yacht.

dpa (Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 April 1983)

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